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ABSTRACT

This study investigated the effect of different school atmospheres on the career aspirations and the actual careers of students. The sample included 60 11th grade students from one high prestige, one less prestigious general high school and from one technical high school in three cities in Israel and a similar sample of young men who graduated from the same schools ten years earlier. The students were investigated through a questionnaire. The graduates were interviewed personally or, if abroad, were sent mail questionnaires. Occupational aspirations of the students are discussed. An absence of differentiation in career plans between the schools was found although differences between the schools with regards to educational aspiration existed. The students who graduated ten years earlier are discussed in terms of the relationship between aspirations of the present day students and the past aspirations and, the actual careers of the graduates. An important conclusion was that there has been great stability through time in the population, attitudes and occupational behavior of the students of these schools. The questionnaire, appendix and tables are included. (Author/EW)

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I. The Purpose of the Study, Sample and Procedures

The original purpose was to investigate the effect of different types of school atmospheres on the career aspirations and the actual career mobility of the students¹ Aspirations and mobility were measured by educational as well as occupational levels aspired to by past and present students in the different schools and actually attained by former students. School atmosphere is a much more diffuse thing than aspirations, and an attempt was made to describe it by asking the students about the relations between themselves and the teachers; the values of the teachers, the purpose of study at a high school; the existence of certain educational social and administrative characteristics at the school and their attitudes towards these characteristics; and their attitudes towards going to school, and towards manners and norms of moral conduct prevailing at the school. In addition there were questions about the economic and educational attainments of parents and siblings, the perceived expectations of teachers and friends, of the occupational and educational chances of the respondents and the scholastic attainments of the respondents (this last item was ascertained from the school records, cf. also Appendix I for questionnaire).

The sample was to include 60 11th grade students from one old established high prestige and selective, one less prestigious non-selective general high school and from one technical high school in each of the three principal cities in Israel and a similar sample of young men who graduated from the same schools ten years earlier. In order to obtain such a sample

we had to include different fractions of the total student population in the different schools. In three of the schools, however, the total number of 11th grade students was less than this, and in one school the administration agreed to conduct the investigation in only two classes. Hence, less than 60 students were investigated in each of these four schools. Furthermore, from the analysis of the data it appeared that one of the traditionally high prestige schools, and one of those which was considered by us as low prestige, were in many respects somewhere in between the two extreme categories. In some of the tables, therefore, a threefold classification was used (high, medium, low).

The smaller than desired size of these populations did not prevent statistically meaningful comparisons between the various schools, but it reduced the possibilities of making comparisons between students following different types of curricula.² In order to make possible such comparisons, we increased the size of the sample in two large schools (one general and one vocational) which agreed to this. As a result we obtained a more or less complete spread of curricular types, which exist in Israel high schools.

Furthermore we have used the opportunity to administer the questionnaire to the girls attending the same classes as the boys. As all the classes in the general high schools were co-educational, this did not require a great deal of additional investment in the collection of the data. With the exception of a single item (cf. footnote 8), the analysis of the material about the girls is, however, not included in this report.

Since the graduate populations were even smaller, and since it was not possible to locate them all, we included, as far as possible, the graduates of two classes in our sample, those of 1955-56 and those of 1956-57. Finally, because of limitation of funds, the sample of the graduates includes only three general (the high prestige ones) and three vocational high schools. The following table summarizes the information about the sample.

(cf. Table 1)

TABLE 1

Students and Graduates Included in the Sample by School and Sex

(numbers and percentages of all students in same grade and of all graduates in same year.)

Schools	11th graders in 1965/66		Graduates from 1956/57 and 1957/58		
	Boys	% of all boys in same grade	Numbers	% of all graduates in the same years	Girls numbers (1965/66)
No. 1	54	61	55	75	27
No. 2	95	66	105	70	76
No. 3	67	90	63	68	47
No. 4	47	100	-	-	32
No. 5	60	81	-	-	50
No. 6	31	100	-	-	77
No. 7	75	54	41	70	-
No. 8	43	100	50	32	-
No. 9	200	73	69	76	-
Totals	673		383		309

Except in school number 1, the student populations are representative of the total 11th grade populations of their schools. In school number 1 only two classes, one mathematical-physical, and one biological class were included in the sample. Judging from the sample as a whole, there are no differences in the social attitudes and expectations of students concentrating in these fields and those concentrating in humanities and social studies in the same schools.³ They have been treated, therefore, as representing this school in most of the comparisons which have been made.

The students were investigated by means of a questionnaire which was filled out in the classroom. The graduates were interviewed personally, and those of them (about 20 percent) who were abroad, were sent mail questionnaires. The questions were in many cases differently worded in the group questionnaire than in the personal interviews.

As the questionnaires were administered in the classrooms during the regular school hours, the participation of all those present was assured. The lists of the graduates and their scholastic attainments as high school students was obtained from the school records. Their addresses were obtained from the same source, and where necessary, updated from the general population registry. With the exception of one school, between two-thirds and three-quarters of the graduates were located and interviewed. The addresses of nearly all of those who were abroad were obtained and they were all approached. Of those who were abroad 75 per cent replied to the mail questionnaire.

One of the important findings of the study has been that in many respects the distributions of replies in the different schools was very similar. This was especially marked in the answers to the questions probing the criteria by which teachers and peers judge performance at school and occupational attainments and in the attitudes towards the occupational system of the country (cf. below pp. 12-24).

This suggested two conclusions:

- (1) That the differences in the atmospheres of the schools were mainly the result of differences between their scholastic levels and purposes (general-technical) and not of the traditions, and values of the schools or the character of the city. Even where there were differences in the traditions and values of the different schools, such as in the friendliness or detachment between teachers and students, the feeling of comfort at school, and the belief in the (practical) utility of education, these had little or no influence on aspirations.⁴ The latter were determined by the scholastic standing of the school, the attainment of the student and, to a limited degree, by the status of the parents. The presentation of these findings will constitute the major part of the report.
- (2) That the sample, although selected for the sole purpose of investigating differences between schools may well be representative of the relevant parts of the Israel high school population, namely 11th graders in general and technical schools in the large cities in schools which prepare their students for the matriculation examination. This is, of course, only a possibility

which needs further investigation. Unfortunately there is no information on the parameters of the relevant population. A comparison was, therefore, made of the present sample with different sections of the population by area of birth. Table 2 contains a comparison with the general 11th grade student population.

TABLE 2

All (Jewish) 11th Graders, Graduates of Matriculation Examination and Sample by Area of Birth (Percentages) (1965/66)

	<u>Born in Israel</u>	<u>Asia-Africa</u>	<u>Europe-America</u>	<u>Total</u>
All 11th Graders	64.7	16.6	18.7	100% (N=21.334)
Graduates of Matriculation Examination	57.2	9.7	33.1	100% (N= 7.908) *
Sample	70	7.0	23.0	100% (N = 673)

Source: Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1966, No.17 p.495, Table T/12 and p.600 Table T/18, and 1967 No.18 p.598, Table T/21.

* Does not include 135 graduates whose characteristics are unknown.

As for 1956/57 there is no information by grades, in high school population (grades 9-12) with that of our sample of graduates.

As it has been pointed out, there are, unfortunately, no data to compare our samples with the relevant part of the general population, namely full time 11th grade students attending general or technical high schools preparing for the matriculation. Since, however, the selectivity of this type of high school

sharply increases in the 11th grade and since it is known that one of the main effects of this selectivity is the dropping out of the school (of this advanced type) of a very high proportion of youth coming from Asian and North-African background, it is very likely that the sample is representative in this respect of the total population of 11th grade high school students. This influence is supported by the statistics matriculation examination. It is a plausible guess, therefore, that in all those respects where there are no differences in this sample between the various schools, the findings are indicative of the situation in the general student population of the three large cities. In any event, in these cases, the findings are representative of the total population of 11th graders in the schools participating in the study.

TABLE 3

Students in General High Schools and Sample of Graduates by
Area of Origin (Percentages - 1956/57)

	<u>Born in Israel</u>	<u>Asia-Africa</u>	<u>Europe-America</u>	<u>Total</u>
All Students in General High School	70.9	10.5	18.6	100% (N=14.888)
Sample	77.0	2.0	21.0	100% (N= 383)

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Education - "Yediot
Bestatistica Hinuhit" No.4 1963 pp.8-10, Tables 5-7.

II. Occupational Aspirations

1) The large majority of the student population have high educational aspirations. 91-100 per cent of the students in the general high schools intend to go on to universities and even in technical high schools, 75-78% have such intentions. In addition, they all faced two and half years of military service at the age of 18. As a result, their occupational aspirations could not be expected to be very stable. A majority of those attending general, and nearly half of those attending technical high schools said that their occupational plans were not yet crystallized.

Nevertheless, even those who regarded their plans as not yet crystallized had some kinds of plans. As it can be seen from Table 4 students from the general high schools chose almost exclusively professional careers. Even in the technical high schools there were a majority who chose such careers.

TABLE 4

Occupational Choice by Type of School. (Percentages)

Type of school	Occupational Choice						
	Total	Professions not specified	Engineering	Medicine	Skilled Worker Craftsman	Other Prof.	Other non- professional
General high school	100	44	21	9	26		
Technical	100	7	52	-	31	10	

Since some of those choosing to be skilled workers plan to attend university, they probably consider skilled work only as a transitional career.

The outstanding impression conveyed by this table is the absence of differentiation in the career plans. As such a large majority intend to go into the professions, there is little scope left to analyze the correlates of the small differences which can be found. The only indication that occupational aspirations were influenced by scholastic achievements comes from small, but significant associations between the answers to two questions: The students self-rating on a six point scale according to their perception of (a) their teachers, and (b) their colleagues' opinion about them as students on the one hand, and their aspiration concerning the level they hoped to attain in their future careers on the other. (Table 5). But in this case too, the most important result was the generally high percentage of those who hoped to attain "high" or "very high" levels in their careers.

TABLE 5

Associations Between Level of Career Aspiration and Students
Perception of (1) Colleagues and (2) Teachers Opinion about them
By Type of School.

	<u>General High School</u>	<u>Technical School</u>
	<u>Gamma</u>	<u>Gamma</u>
(1) Colleagues	.30*	.38*
(2) Teachers	.30*	.29**

* $p = < .001$

** $p = < .01$

This undifferentiated and overly optimistic view of the future is probably the result of the remoteness of the actual entrance into the occupational system. The plans are, therefore, vague and unrealistic. This interpretation is supported by the answers to a series of further questions concerning occupational choice which all show that this problem has very low saliency in the expectations directed towards the students from their social surroundings. In answer to the questions: "What does your favorite friend teacher expect you to be in twenty years from now?" 24 per cent in the general and 30 per cent in the technical high schools answered that they did not know what their favorite friend expected them to be, and 40-38 per cent said that they did not know what the expectations of their favorite teachers were. Thus, in about a fourth to one third of the cases these matters were not discussed among best friends, and in more than a third of the cases there was no indication of interest in this matter even on the part of the best liked teachers. It is particularly striking that (1) a higher percentage of the students in the technical schools is unaware of his friends expectations than in the general schools; (2) only 17 per cent of the technical school students replied that their teachers expected them to be craftsman; and (3) none of them thought that the teachers expected them to be factory workers. Thus the atmosphere of all the schools is oriented to study and not to preparation for an occupation. The schools instill a general aspiration towards professional careers. This is probably

more the result of a general feeling that further studies have become a social norm than an expectation based on the evaluation of the potentialities of the student. This disjunction between high school attainments and expectations for the future are also reflected in the relatively high percentage of those who think that their favorite teachers and/or friends expect them to become scientists or scholars (cf. Table 6).

TABLE 6

Occupational Expectations of Favorite Teacher and Friend
by Type of School, (Percentages)

Type of School	Expectations			
	Professional person	Scientist or scholar	Other	Don't Know
<u>General</u>				
Teacher	19	23	18	40
Friend	34	21	21	24
<u>Technical</u>				
Teacher	26	8	28*	38
Friend	39	7	24	30

* includes 17% "craftsman"

Somewhat unexpectedly, this relatively limited interest in the occupational plans is also shared by the parents. Although, as it will be shown later, most of them have occupational plans for their sons, 30 per cent in the different schools only "express their views" on the subject; 18-32 per cent "give advise" and 2-23 per cent "try to persuade" or "force their views"

on the children. It seems that for the parents, too, the most important concern is that their children should successfully complete their high school education, obtain the matriculation certificate, and go into higher education upon completion of their military service rather than nurturing some definite occupational goals.

2) The views of the students about the determinants of occupational success in the country are consistent with their generally high aspirations. In answer to a question "what determines the occupational advancement of a person in this country?" the following rank order of determinants was chosen from a list of alternatives.

1. ability; education and training
2. perseveration and personal effort; good connections
3. party or organizational membership
4. luck; being an old-timer in the country; ethnic origin; savings and being satisfied with little.

To further questions whether persons belonging to any particular groups possessed special advantages or disadvantages concerning occupational advancement, "those who have good connections" were mentioned in the first place as possessing special advantages, while "oriental origin" was mentioned most frequently as the cause of special disadvantage. There were two additional questions probing the status positions of different groups: (1) "Which people have more (or less) influence than the average?" and (2) "Which people are honored more (or less) than the average?". There

was practical unanimity that members of the ruling parties (there has always been a coalition government in Israel the core of which has been the Israel labor party) had more influence than the average. About those having less than average influence, the opinions have been divided. Some thought "those of oriental origin," while in the rest of the schools the majority thought "those who had no education."

The most frequently mentioned source of more than average prestige was high education followed by high income, and the most frequently mentioned source of negative prestige were "oriental origin" followed by "lack of education."

Significantly the schools where "oriental origin" was most frequently mentioned as a source of occupational disadvantage and negative prestige (50-53% occupational disadvantage; 18-21% negative prestige) were the three most prestigious ones where the proportion of students of oriental origin is very low. In the schools which have a relatively high proportion of oriental students, those mentioning it as an occupational disadvantage ranged between 40-23% and those considering it as a source of negative prestige ranged between 12-3 per cent.

These views reflect more a concern with bridging the existing gap between the western and oriental groups in the country - particularly prevalent in the élite schools and in the families whose children attend them - than the experience of discrimination. The low percentage mentioning oriental origin as a source of negative prestige supports this interpretation.

It appears, therefore, that the overall view of the system of social stratification is that it works according to the values of achievement which are imparted at school. Ability, education and training count most, origin, luck, and other ascriptive conditions are practically never mentioned as important conditions of occupational success. Among ascriptive conditions only "good connections" are considered as important, but also not as a condition of first importance. (Table 7)

TABLE 7

"Occupational Success in Israel Depends on the Following:
(Percentages of those mentioning condition as "most important"
for occupational success") By Type of School (Students Population)

	<u>General High School</u>	<u>Technical School</u>
Education and Training	26%	28%
Perseverance and Personal Initiative	18%	29%
Ability	25%	15%
Good Connections	15%	16%
Party Membership	6%	2%
Length of Stay in Israel	3%	1%
Luck	1%	1%
Place of Origin	-	2%
Saving for the future and being content with little	-	-
No information (N)	15	21
N	339	297

There is hardly a difference between the replies of students in general schools as compared with those in technical ones. The only difference worth mentioning is the greater tendency of students in the latter schools to mention "perseverance and personal initiative", and their tendency to underestimate "ability." This might be the result of the fact that graduates of vocational schools often turn to modes of employment in which an individual's initiative is crucial; on the other hand, "ability" seems to be associated with scholarly and theoretical, rather than practical or technological interests.

The existence of specially advantaged or disadvantaged groups is only mentioned in response to special probing. And there is little consensus about who has special advantages and who has special disadvantages. The only exceptions are the consensus about the greater influence of members of the ruling parties, and about the greater prestige of the highly educated. The latter, of course, is consistent with a system where ability and achievement are the most important determinants of occupational success. The former, however, implies some lack of confidence about equality of influence on the political process. It will be seen later (p. 25) that this is consistent with the preferences shown towards employment in the different sectors of the economy and towards self employment.

3) In the assessment of their own prospects the students use the same criteria as they do when judging the determinants of status in general. To the question: "On what basis do you assess your prospects?" (to realize

occupational plans), 90-100 per cent in the different schools chose "my talents and abilities"; and "the efforts which I shall devote to the matter". Other bases of the assessment of success were "the efforts devoted to the matter by my parents and/or other people related to me" (43-73%) and "the good connections of my parents with people who can help me" (12-28%). To a further question asking them to rank according to their importance a number of things they would need for the realization of their plans, the following overall rank order was obtained:

1. hard work
2. constant further study while at work
3. connections with people
- 4-5. support of the parents; a lot of money
6. luck
7. connections with organizations.

The expectations of financial help from the parents is around 70% in the general high schools and around 50% in the technical ones. This latter may be connected with the possession of valuable skills by the graduates of the technical schools, but is probably also a result of the economic status of the parents. This is also suggested by the return from one of the general high schools which caters to students from less well to do strata. There only 44% of the students expect to obtain help from their parents.

There is, therefore, considerable congruence between the way these students perceive the working of the occupational system and their own

chances within it. They rely first and foremost on their own talents and efforts. In addition, those who know that their parents can help them, expect to be helped. But unlike talent and hard work, parental help is not perceived as a necessary condition for high aspiration, and expectation of success. A large majority, 62-73% in the different schools assess their prospects of realizing their occupational plans either as "good" or "very good". The whole group perceives itself as highly mobile, if the percentage aspiring to professional occupations among the children is compared with the percentage engaged in the professions among the parents. There is no relationship between parental occupation and the occupation aspired to (cf. Tables 8, 9).⁶

4) It has been seen what kind of work our students are looking forward to, and how they perceive the occupational structure and their prospects within it. It has to be seen now what kind of satisfactions they expect to obtain from work. They were asked "what are the advantages of the occupation you intend to choose?" and instructed to choose and rank in their order of importance, 3 out of a list of 11 "advantages." In all the schools "interesting" was the most important advantage, followed by "suited to my talents." Other advantages were mentioned in the following order: 3) possibility for advancement; 4) opportunity for initiative; 5) income security; 6) high income; 7) service to the country. Hardly mentioned at all, and then as of only third importance were 8) prestige; 9) family tradition; 10) absence of physical exertion; 11) absence of psychological strain.

TABLE 8

Occupational Aspirations of Students by Father's Occupation (General High School students)

Father	Son		Professions *	Engineering	Physi- cians	Adminis- tration	Business	Skilled worker	Other	Total
Professions	61%	19	14%	7%	5	3%	1	3%	1	100%
					17%	17%	25%	11%	2%	30
Engineering	47%	13	14%	22%	1	4%	-	4%	5	100%
					17%	17%		11%	2%	27
Physicians	33%	2	1%	-	3%	33%	-	17%	-	100%
						2	13%	11%	-	6
Administration	45%	61	44%	22%	10	4%	-	1%	26	100%
					33%	33%		22%	46%	134
Business	31%	13	9%	21%	3	5%	3	-	12	100%
					10%	13%	75%		21%	42
Skilled worker	38%	25	18%	24%	8	6%	-	6%	9	100%
					27%	27%		44%	16%	66
Other	44%	7	5%	19%	2	-	-	-	4	100%
					6%				7%	16
Total	44%	140	100%	21%	30	5%	4	3%	57	100%
					100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	321
										100%

* Excluding engineers and physicians.

TABLE 9
Occupational Aspirations of Students by Father's Occupation. (Technical Schools students)

Son Father	Profes- sions *	Engineer- ing	Adminis- tration	Business	Skilled worker	Other	Total
Professions	-	50% 2 1%	-	-	50% 2 2%	-	100% 4 1%
Engineering	-	36% 4 3%	-	-	55% 6 7%	9% 1 4%	100% 11 4%
Administration	5% 5 28%	54% 57 38%	1% 1 25%	1% 1 100%	27% 28 31%	13% 14 50%	100% 106 37%
Business	11% 3 17%	57% 16 11%	-	-	25% 7 8%	7% 2 7%	100% 28 10%
Skilled worker	6% 8 44%	49% 62 41%	2% 3 75%	-	34% 44 49%	7% 9 32%	100% 126 43%
Other	13% 2 11%	60% 9 6%	-	-	13% 2 2%	13% 2 7%	100% 15 5%
Total	6% 18 100%	52% 150 100%	1% 4 100%	1 100%	31% 89 100%	13% 28 100%	100% 290 100%

* Excluding engineers.

The interesting thing about this list is that the occupational values emphasized most strongly by socialist ideology and legislation in Israel, (namely income security and service to the country); as well as the occupational values of Jewish tradition (prestige; traditional family occupation; absence of physical exertion) are all on the bottom of the list.

It appears, therefore, that these occupational values are not determined by ideology, but by the perception of the occupational system. These students relate themselves to the upper-middle and upper reaches of a rapidly industrializing and scientifically and technologically advancing welfare society. The aspects which they value in occupations are those which are scarce and valued in such a society.⁷

This explains the low evaluation of such things as income security and high income. It is unlikely that students are uninterested in these things. In fact their answers to the questions about their expected standards of living show that they expect these standards to rise considerably as compared to those of their parents. But they probably feel that these things are more or less given and not something to be attained by individual effort. The attitude towards "service to the country" may have a different explanation. They all expect to serve in the army, and they consider this service as the most important way to serve their country. They know that this service is a sacrifice from the point of view of their future careers, and are, therefore, inclined to view their occupational values in disjunction from "service to the country".

They seek in their future occupations an opportunity for self-expression (which may imply "personal development" as well as "career" in the economic sense) and initiative.

There is an indication, however, that those who choose to become physicians and engineers, may be slightly more career oriented than those choosing professions in general. This can be seen from the following table. (Table 10)

TABLE 10

Occupational Choice and Perceived Occupational Advantages
in General Schools (Percentage)

	Professionals in general	Physicians & Engineers
	%	%
Interest	88	81
Ability	71	65
Initiative	38	29
Income Security	35	34
Advancement	29	30
High Income	18	26
N	147	99

Whereas the first three categories may be considered as dealing with "intrinsic" occupational characteristics, (Interest, Ability, Initiative) - the three latter deal with the more "external" occupational characteristics (Income Security, Advancement, High Income); in other words,

the three latter characteristics are those which view an occupation as a career. The table suggests that those subjects who choose "profession" in general tend to view their future in terms of the intrinsic characteristics of their work; on the other hand, those who plan a career in medicine or engineering, view their future occupation slightly more in terms of its economic benefits.

5) In contrast to their own views, the students perceive the views of their parents as more in accordance with institutional usage and tradition. When asked "what are the advantages which your parents see in this occupation?" (the one preferred by them for their son) the following rank order was obtained:

1. income security
2. ability of child
3. interest
4. prestige
5. possibilities of advancement
6. high income
7. individual initiative
8. absence of physical exertion
9. traditional family occupation
10. service to the country
11. absence of psychological stress.

This difference is in line with the perceived difference between the child's own occupational plans and the plans of his parents for him (cf. Tables 11 A and B) While the categories in table 11 B are too gross to

TABLE 11

Occupational Aspirations of Students by Parent's ExpectationA. General High Schools

Son Father	Profession	Engin- eering	Physi- cians	Other	Total
	Professions	Engineering	Physicians	Other	Total
	67% 72 51%	9% 10 15%	2% 2 7%	21% 23 27%	100% 107 33%
Engineering	18% 12 9%	57% 39 58%	3% 2 7%	22% 15 18%	100% 68 21%
Physicians	39% 20 14%	8% 4 6%	30% 20 66%	14% 7 8%	100% 51 16%
Other	38% 36 26%	15% 14 21%	6% 6 20%	41% 39 46%	100% 95 30%
Total	44% 140 100%	21% 67 100%	9% 30 100%	26% 84 100%	100% 321 100%

B. Technical Schools

Son Father	Engineering	Skilled worker	Other	Total
	Engineering	Skilled worker	Other	Total
Engineering	73% 114 74%	15% 23 25%	12% 19 37%	100% 156 53%
Skilled worker	15% 13 8%	65% 51 56%	20% 14 27%	100% 78 26%
Other	43% 27 18%	27% 17 19%	3% 18 35%	100% 62 21%
Total	52% 154 100%	31% 91 100%	17% 51 100%	100% 296 100%

show any difference, those in table 11 A comparing the child's plans with those of his parents in the general high schools show a difference between the child's and the parent's preferences. The latter choose more often physician and "others" (which includes such things as administrative or business careers) and considerably less "professionals" in general (which includes scientists, humanists and other intellectuals). These differences between the parents and the children are, however, slight. They show that in a minority of the cases, the parents are perceived as somewhat more practical and traditional in their preferences than their children. But not sufficiently so as to cause conflict. They do not want the children to follow in their own occupational footsteps, and they too attribute great importance to the suitability of the job to their child's talents and interests.

6) The cognitive map which has been described here is a very general perspective of the occupational opportunities by a group of educationally mobile young people. Their occupational preferences are not yet concrete plans, but only a general strategy to get through higher education into positions of advantage. The main conceived advantage is entrance into professional careers which are interesting and which provide a scope for initiative and growth.

Their assessment of their own chances is perceived optimistically within a system which works more or less in accordance with their own preferences. This harmony between the system and their own preferences

is, however, limited to the criteria of getting ahead which determine their relative opportunities to those of others, but does not extend to their assessment of the efficiency of the occupational system or the congeniality of the actual conditions of work.

In these latter respects the wishes expressed by the students are in sharp contrast to the conditions prevailing in Israel. About half in all the schools preferred self-employment to being employed by others. Among those who preferred salaried work the order of preference was private firms; civil service and last of all in other branches of the public sector.

(Table 12)

TABLE 12

Preferences for Sector of Future Employment and Type of Employment by Type of School (percentages)

<u>Preferred Type of Employment</u>	<u>Preferred Sector</u>	<u>Type of school</u>	
		<u>General</u>	<u>Vocational</u>
Salaried employee in	Government sector	19%	21%
" " "	Public non-govern- mental sector	14%	12%
" " "	Private sector	17%	14%
Self Employed		50%	52%
No information (N)		13	8
Total N		341	310

TABLE 13

Expectations as to Authority Position in Future Job (percentages)

(The question: "In your future job, would you like to be?")

<u>Expected Authority</u>	<u>Type of school</u>	
	<u>General</u>	<u>Technical</u>
In charge of many but not under anyone's supervision	9%	8%
In charge of few but not under anyone's supervision	14%	16%
In charge of many but also under the supervision of others	18%	19%
In charge of few but also under the supervision of others	20%	25%
In charge of no one and not under anyone's supervision	34%	28%
In charge of no one with some supervision by others	5%	3%
No answer (N)	19	5
Total N	335	313

This is a surprising finding, as there are very few self employed professional people in Israel, and it is safe to assume that most of the students investigated, were well aware of this fact.

The meaning of this unrealistic attitude has been clarified by the answer to another question concerning authority in work (cf. Table 13). With the exception of one technical and one general high school, the modal answer was "to be in charge of no one and subject to no one." Thus although a very large majority aspired to reach the top grades in their future occupations, only a minority chose to achieve this through being in charge of many others (Tables 13, 14).

TABLE 14

"What Grade do You Expect to Reach in your Future Occupation?
by Type of School (Students population)

Grade	<u>Type of school</u>	
	<u>General</u>	<u>Technical</u>
Very high	20.8%	12.7%
High	66.5%	71.7%
Average	12.5%	15.3%
Low	0.2%	0.2%
Total	100%	100%
N	340	316

Not only are these aspirations in contradiction with the opportunities prevailing in the country in general, but they are also in sharp contrast with the experience of this specific group of young people. The percentage of self employed among their parents does not exceed thirty and among the graduates of the same schools from ten years earlier it does not exceed fifteen (Table 15).

TABLE 15

Fathers and Graduates by Type and Sector of Employment

(Percentages)		Type of school			
<u>Type of Employment</u>	<u>Sector</u>	<u>Fathers</u>		<u>Graduates</u>	
		<u>General High School</u>	<u>Technical</u>	<u>General High School</u>	<u>Technical</u>
Salaried and wage earner in	Government & military	21%	15%	23%	22%
" " "	Public, non-governmental	20%	25%	27%	28%
" " "	Private	29%	31%	33%	31%
Self employed	"	28%	27%	14%	12%
Kibbutz		-	1%	7%	7%
Unemployed & retired		1%	1%	1%	-
No information (N)		23	28	31	3
N		331	290	192	157

This shows that there is among these students a dissatisfaction with and a wish to change the prevailing patterns of the organization of work in Israel. Their attitudes reflect the fairly widespread criticism of the

ubiquitous and cumbersome bureaucracies and of the distrust of the direction of all kinds of economic activity by governmental and other political and semi governmental organizations. (The most important of which are the General Federal Federation of Labor and the Jewish Agency).

To sum up, there is an ambiguity in the student's perception of the occupational system and the perception of their own chances in it. They are satisfied with the values of the system and reveal a great deal of status security as to their future, almost irrespective of type of school they study in. An overwhelming majority intends to proceed to higher education and study mainly towards engineering, medicine or professional careers; two-thirds to three-quarters of the students conceive of their chances to fulfill these future occupational plans as good or excellent, and as mainly dependent on their own talent, ability and effort; between forty four to seventy per cent are confident of their parents' assistance in realizing their future plans. On the other hand, they object to the patterns of bureaucratic organization and to political interference with productive work. This objection is consistent with their belief that members of the ruling parties have undue influence in politics. This impels them to prefer conditions of work which they know are imaginary, and narrows down their occupational choice. Political positions seem to be both blocked and unattractive, and business is rejected. Aspirations are directed towards science, the professions or any other career acquired through higher learning.

This acceptance of the values as well as the rules of conduct underlying the occupational system on the one hand, and a feeling of estrangement from the political, organizational, and perhaps also economic frameworks which sustains the system is a common feature of modern youth culture. It can be interpreted as an expression of the "idealistic" orientation of the educational system, and as a preparation for a prolonged stay within the system which is the intention of this youth. The schools which they attend emphasize intellectual achievement and individual mastery of the subject matters they study. This is to a large extent the case even in the technical schools. They stress technical competence too, but in view of the long term plans of the majority to continue with their studies, technical competence becomes only valuable if coupled with mastery of the theoretical studies. The ideal, as it has been seen, is not the craftsman, but the engineer. Thus what is picked out as valuable and relevant from the values of a modern occupational system, are the things which are also important at school: ability, interest, continued study, etc., while income, job security, and prestige are taken for granted. In accordance with this, they prefer professional careers which they consider as directly continuous with the school in their norms and values, and refrain from politics and business which are not directly related to studies and success in which is dependent on the amassing of power and wealth rather than on intellectual and technical mastery of something one is personally interested in. This is also consistent with rejection of bureaucratic frameworks of work. Although the school

is a bureaucratic framework too, the bureaucratic aspects of the school are imposed on the student. He takes (if at all) only a marginal part in the formulation of the goals and the rules of the school, and, most importantly, he cannot advance or make any career in the school as an organization. Only through personal success in his studies can he obtain socially important rewards. Nothing in this situation arouses any identification with the bureaucratic aspect of the role of the student, or of any other role at school.

This is not say that being a student is a sufficient condition to identify with the student's role, to the extent that its values (as defined by the school) are projected into the future occupational role. That this happens to be the case in the present population is the result of (a) a far-reaching (perceived) consensus of parents, teachers and probably other influences, such as newspapers and radio about the occupational value of education and the desirability (or even moral superiority) of professional to other types of work; (b) a perception that the way the occupational system works provides a fair, but not too easy (75 to 83 per cent thought that "getting ahead in life in Israel" was "difficult"*) opportunity to advancement and self-expression in work; and (c) that politics, business, and bureaucracy appear as unattractive alternatives, probably due to the dissatisfactions which they (inevitably) engender, and which are constantly advertised by private and public criticism in a free democracy.

* The pre-coded alternatives were: very difficult, difficult, easy, very easy.

III. Educational Aspirations

1) Unlike the occupational plans which relate to things that are outside the first hand experience of the students, their educational plans are directly related to their present school life. The type of school, and the type of curriculum, which they chose or for which they were chosen is, at least, an indication of future possibilities. And so is the scholastic success. It has been assumed, therefore, that there will be significant relationships between the scholastic situation of the students, and their relevant subjective perceptions and attitudes on the one hand, and their plans for the future on the other.

The scholastic situation has been defined by the type and reputation of the school; the educational attainments of the student measured by his grades at school; his perceived reputation at school; and the educational attainments of his parents. The subjective attitudes and plans related to the above were: the amount of stress experienced by the student in attending school; the criteria according to which he evaluates his school; his perception of the occupational and status system of the country; and his occupational values as reflected in his answers to the question "what are the advantages of the occupation that you chose"? (cf. above pp. 12-31).

As it has been pointed out, a large majority of the students expect to go on to university. But there are some, especially in the technical schools, who don't, and among those who do, there are differences between the academic degrees aspired to (cf. Table 16).

TABLE 16

Educational Aspirations of Students by Type and Prestige of School

(ranges of cumulative percentages)

Type and prestige of schools	Total	Bachelor's	Master's	Ph.D.
General				
High prestige	100	95-97	87-88	53-54
Medium prestige	100	91-100	77-79	32-40
Low prestige	100	86-91	56-58	18-29
Technical	100	75-78	40-43	15-17

There is a continuous scale of rising aspirations from the technical schools at the bottom to the highest prestige general schools on the top.⁸

In addition to the type of school attended and its prestige, the other objective determinants investigated were the student's educational attainments (as measured by his grades) and the education of his father. It has to be seen what, if any, is the relative weight of these conditions, and to what extent do they explain satisfactorily the differences between the educational aspirations of the students.

The type of school and the education of the parents on the one hand, and the education of the parents and the scholastic grades of the students on the other hand are correlated. The first question, therefore, is to what extent does each of these variables influence aspirations when the other two are kept constant (cf. Table 17). The variable which explains the greatest part of the variation is the type and the prestige of the school. Next in order come the students' grades, followed by fathers' education.

Students' Grades and Fathers' Education *

* The additive model has been found appropriate for these data because of the generally good fit between the actual and the estimated "p"-s.

(footnote continued on p. 35)

(footnote continued on p. 35)

(continuation of footnote to table 17)

Only in two of the cells is there some suggestion of interaction between fathers education and the other two variables (high education of fathers and high grades in the low prestige general and the technical schools). As the effects go in opposite directions, and the N in one of the cells is very small this may be the result of sampling error. Estimations have been made for General vs. Technical schools, and for High vs. Low Prestige General schools.

General vs. Technical schools

Pi (actual)	.91	.43	.79	.45	.73	.38	.61	.29
Pi* (estimated)	.87	.50	.79	.42	.73	.36	.65	.28

High vs. Low Prestige General schools

Pi (actual)	.36	.50	.60	1.	.75	.85	.90	.95
Pi* (estimated)	.41	.54	.57	.70	.71	.84	.87	1.

Cf. James Coleman, Introduction to Mathematical Sociology, London, The Free Press of Glencoe, pp. 189-199. The weighting procedure used was the one suggested by Richard P. Boyle, "Causal Theory and Statistical Measures of Effect: A Convergence", American Sociological Review, Vol. 31, No. 6 (December, 1966) pp. 843-847. However, the unweighted procedure was used for the estimations.

We are indebted to Dr. Erling O. Schild for his advice on the use of this model

The amount of the variation which is explained by the three variables is very high. This becomes particularly clear when categories which are at a relatively great distance from each other are compared, such as high and low prestige general schools and general and technical schools. (cf. tables 18-19).

Compared with either the graduates of the same schools, or the population in general, these aspirations are unrealistic. In answers to questions "what education do you think your teachers (friends) expect you to have in 20 years time from now?" there are indications that the students are aware of the unrealistic nature of their aspirations. (cf. Table 20).

It is obvious from this table that when the student was confronted with the task of, so to speak, looking at his educational future through the eyes of others, he judged it more modestly than when asked to speak about his own aspirations. There is a scale of decreasing expectations with the students' expectations on the top, followed in turn by the expectations he attributes to his friends and finally those attributed to his teachers. One is furthermore struck by the large percentage of those who answered "don't know". Unlike concerning occupational aspirations, there were, unfortunately, no separate questions about the expectations

TABLE 18

Differences in Educational Aspirations Between High and
Low Prestige General High Schools

Effect of Prestige of School	.30 (significant)
" " Students' Grades	.16 (")
" " Fathers' Education	.13 (")

Source: Table 17

TABLE 19

Educational Aspirations by Scholastic Grades, Type of
School and Fathers' Education

	Students' Grades							
	High or medium				Low			
	High		Other		High		Other	
	General	Technical	General	Technical	General	Technical	General	Technical
Father's education:								
Type of School								
Total N	33	44	70	141	30	21	38	35
Proportion aspiring to obtain Masters or Ph.D. Degrees:	.91	.43	.79	.45	.73	.38	.61	.29

Effect of type of School	.36 (significant)
Effect of the grades of the students	.15 (significant)
Effect of father's education	.06 (not significant)

TABLE 20

Perception of Teachers' and Friends' Expectations about Future Education by Schools

(General High Schools)

Schools	Students' Aspirations		Friends' Expectations			Teachers' Expectations		
	Bachelor at least	Master at least	Bachelor at least	Master at least	Don't know	Bachelor at least	Master at least	Don't know
1	97	88	70	40	19	35	25	37
2	95	87	52	33	40	44	25	38
3	91	77	48	21	34	43	19	27
4	100	79	58	17	28	48	17	21
5	91	56	51	29	37	40	21	38
6	86	58	40	9	44	33	11	27

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of the best liked teachers and the best friends. It has been assumed that educational aspirations were more of a public matter in schools, than occupational ones, so that this distinction would not be necessary. This reasoning was apparently correct, as the percentage of "don't know" on this question is about the same as those given about the opinion of the best liked teacher and friend concerning occupational aspirations, but it is still larger than desired.

It seems that this category includes two different kinds of respondents. Those who are genuinely unaware of the expectations of their teachers (or their friends) on the one hand, and those who are disturbed by the contrast between their own high expectations, and the (perceived) low expectations of their teachers and/or friends. This can be seen from Table 21 which shows that students with medium and high grades tend to answer "don't know" less often than those with low grades, this tendency being particularly strong in the schools where relations between teachers and students are close, so that students are likely to know what their teachers expect from them.

TABLE 21

Percentage of Students who "don't know" about their Teachers
Educational Expectations by Students Grades and Schools

Grades							
Schools		Low	(N)	Medium	(N)	High	(N)
Good Personal relations not considered important	1	42.9	(7)	39.1	(23)	35	(20)
	2	42.5	(40)	37.9	(29)	40	(10)
	3	28	(25)	33	(27)	15.4	(13)
Good Personal relations considered important	4	33	(9)	30	(10)	0	(4)
	5	34.6	(26)	26	(19)	0	(2)
	6	25	(12)	16.7	(6)	0	(1)

3) The objective variable which was of least significance in the determination of the students aspirations was the education of the father. As it appears from tables 22 a) and b) there is a relationship between these two in the general high schools, but none of any significance in the technical schools. The latter may well be a result of the small number of students whose fathers have higher education. In any case, however, it is clear that among the whole group of students the education of father has little influence on educational aspirations. This is in accordance with the findings about occupational aspirations. In both respects aspirations reflect a minimal influence of ascriptive criteria.

Another important negative finding is that no subjective variable was found to be significantly related to educational aspirations. Those investigated and found unrelated to educational aspirations were: the criteria used by the student in the evaluation of schools; images of stratification and status; and the advantages of the occupation chosen by the student.

Conclusions: (a) The educational aspirations of the students are uniformly high. Even in the technical schools only between one fourth and one fifth of the students intend to discontinue their studies at the end of their secondary schooling. In none of the general high schools is this percentage higher than 14.

(b) There is, however, a definite difference between the technical and the general high schools. In the former the modal aspiration is a Bachelor's degree; in the latter the mode is a Master's degree, followed closely by Ph.D.

TABLE 22
Educational Aspirations of Students by Father's Education
a. (General High School Population)

Son Father	Matricula- tion Certificate	Bachelor	Master	PhD	Total
Primary Education	8% 3 23%	30% 11 29%	27% 10 13%	35% 13 16%	100% 37 18%
High School Education	9% 8 62%	16% 15 41%	30% 41 55%	30% 28 34%	100% 92 44%
High Education	3% 2 15%	14% 11 30%	30% 24 32%	53% 42 50%	100% 79 38%
Total	6% 13 100%	18% 37 100%	36% 75 100%	40% 83 100%	100% 208 100%

b. Technical School Population

Son Father	Matricula- tion Certificate	Bachelor	Master	PhD	Total
Primary Education	23% 13 27%	45% 25 35%	21% 12 23%	11% 6 15%	100% 56 27%
High School Education	26% 32 68%	27% 33 46%	29% 35 67%	17% 21 65%	100% 121 60%
High Education	8% 2 5%	5% 12 19%	21% 5 10%	21% 5 17%	100% 24 13%
Total	23% 47 100%	35% 70 100%	26% 52 100%	16% 32 100%	100% 201 100%

(c) The main determinant of the aspirations was the type and the prestige of the school. This was followed by school grades and fathers' education.

(d) The aspirations are obviously unrealistic. An indication that this is somehow perceived by the students is found in the replies about the (perceived) expectations of the teachers and the friends concerning the eventual education of the student. These expectations are much lower than the aspirations of the student himself.

These attitudes are in accordance with the working of the Israel system of education. The main selection takes place at the transition from elementary to secondary schools and during the first two years of the secondary school. Those who complete their secondary education and pass the matriculation examination have had so far no difficulty continuing their studies at universities. Nearly 100% go on to some kind of higher education which, however, many of them never finish.⁹ The great difference between high and medium prestige general high schools on the one hand and low prestige general and technical high schools on the other, reflects the extent to which these schools have been successful in preparing their students for the matriculation examination. The former have had a long record of success in this respect. Admission to them is, therefore, conceived by the students as practically equivalent to university admission. Grades obtained - as long as they are passing grades - are matters of secondary importance. On the other hand, low prestige high schools do not have this tradition. They are for many students a second choice, after having failed to be admitted to the few prestigious schools. Those of them who still do not make good lower, therefore their aspirations.

Practically, perhaps the most important conclusion is that for the overwhelming majority of students the high school is but a preparation for entrance to higher education. The same conclusion has been reached also

in the previous chapter. While the implication there was a narrowing down of occupational choice, the implications here is a narrowing down of the educational purpose. Students view their schools and their educational experiences in them as related to their plans for higher education, but as practically nothing else. This probably impairs the function of the schools as an educational institute designed to cater to the needs of adolescents especially from the point of view of the few who do not go on to university, and the many who do, but drop out after a year or two.

IV. Occupational Aspirations and Careers of Graduates

1) What is the relationship between the aspirations of the present day students on the one hand and (a) the past aspirations and (b) the actual careers of those who were students ten years before on the other hand? Since the aspirations of the students from ten years before are reported in retrospect, one may suspect that they are biased by their subsequent careers. Had this been the case, there would have been an overwhelming correspondence between the reported aspirations and the actual attainments.

A comparison of aspirations with achievements, however, does not suggest that the former are retrospectively adjusted to the latter (cf. Tables 23, 24) as less than half of the respondents report working in the occupations for which they had originally aspired to.

Particularly great discrepancy between past aspirations and present day achievement is found among those who ended up in clerical-administrative occupations and in teaching. Practically none of these reported

TABLE 23
Occupational Aspirations and Attainment (General High Schools Graduate population)

Attainment Aspirations	Engineer- ing	Physi- cians	Profes- sions	Teaching	Adminis- tration	Skilled worker	Other	Total
Engineering	60.6 26 78.0	-	9.3 4 10.5	-	21.0 9 24.3	7.0 3 60.0	2.3 1 3.0	100% 43 24.9
Physicians	5.3 1 3.0	16.8 7 63.6	26.8 5 13.2	5.3 1 7.1	15.8 3 8.1	-	10.5 2 6.1	100% 19 11.0
Professions	6.0 3 9.0	2.0 1 9.1	48.0 24 63.1	12.0 6 42.8	22.0 11 29.7	-	10.0 5 15.2	100% 50 29.0
Teaching	-	-	-	50.0 1 7.1	50.0 1 2.7	-	-	100% 2 1.2
Administration	-	-	-	-	100% 3 8.1	-	-	100% 3 1.7
Skilled worker	-	-	-	50.0 1 7.1	-	-	50.0 1 3.0	100% 2 1.2
Other	5.8 3 9.0	5.8 3 27.3	9.6 5 13.2	9.6 5 35.7	19.2 10 27.0	3.8 2 40.0	46.1 24 72.7	100% 52 30.2
Total	19.1 33 100%	6.4 11 100%	22.0 35 100%	8.1 14 100%	21.5 37 100%	2.9 5 100%	19.1 33 100%	100% 171 100%

TABLE 24

Occupational Aspirations and Attainment (Technical Schools, Graduate Population)

Attainment Aspirations	Engineering	Physicians	Professions	Teaching	Administration	Skilled worker	Other	Total
Engineering	28.6 57.1	-	-	17.9 29.4	7.1 10.0	28.6 12.3	17.9 20.0	100% 28 19.6
Physicians	50.0 17.1	-	-	-	-	-	50.0 14.0	100% 2 1.4
Professions	33.3 17.1	-	33.3 150.0	-	-	-	33.3 4.0	100% 3 2.1
Teaching	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Administration	-	-	-	-	100% 3 15.0	-	-	100% 3 2.1
Skilled worker	3.0 21.4	-	1.0 150.0	8.1 47.0	15.2 75.0	54.5 83.2	18.2 72.0	100% 99 69.3
Other	12.5 7.1	-	-	50.0 23.5	-	37.5 4.6	-	100% 8 5.6
Total	9.8 100%	-	1.4 100%	11.9 100%	14.0 100%	45.5 100%	17.5 100%	100% 143 100%

in the occupations chosen by more than a very few only engineers (among the general high school graduates) and skilled workers (among the technical high school graduates) reported aspirations mainly to the same occupations. Thus there is every indication that the respondents reported their past aspirations correctly.

This impression is corroborated by a comparison of the past aspirations of the graduates with the aspirations of the students today (cf. Table 25). Among the graduates, as well as among students, there have been very few who have aspired to become clerical-administrative workers or teachers, although thirty per cent of the graduates of the general high schools, and twenty-six per cent of those of the technical schools ended up eventually in these occupations. The only important difference between the aspirations of present-day students and their predecessors from ten years before is that more than twice the percentage of the graduates from the technical schools than the students in the same schools today reported aspirations to become skilled workers. (65 versus 31 per cent). Since, however, nearly one third of the former actually became something else, there is no reason to assume in this case either any tendency to make the memory of the past congruent with present day reality. The difference probably reflects a change in the aspirations of technical school students and the character of two of these schools throughout the period. Since 1956 they have become much more oriented to higher education.

TABLE 25

Students Occupational Aspirations and Graduates Past
Occupational Aspirations by Type of School (percentages)

Type of school Occupations	Technical		General	
	Graduates	Students	Graduates	Students
Engineering	19.6	52	24.9	21
Physics	1.4	-	11	9
Professions	2.1	6	29	44
Teaching	-	-	1.2	-
Administration	2.1	1	1.7	5
Skilled worker	69.3	31	1.2	3
Other	8	10	30	18
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	143	290	171	321

TABLE 26

Educational Achievement of Graduates by Occupations
 (percentages) (General High Schools population)

	Less than Bachelors	Bachelors	Masters + Ph.D.	Total	N
Teaching	18	18	64	100%	17
Administration	55	27	18	100%	33
All other occupations	25	37	38	100%	159

2) What determined that such a high proportion of the graduates ended up in occupations (clerical-administrative; teaching) which they were not interested in? As far as clerical-administrative work is concerned, they consist to a large extent of people who achieved educationally less than the others (cf. Table 26).

Because of their only moderate educational attainments, the professional careers to which they had originally aspired were barred to them. So they went into the less desirable careers in the various bureaucracies where a first degree, or even a high school matriculation certificate entitles them to some advantages.

Those who became teachers are, on the other hand, people who did realize their educational aims. Most of them reported that they had aspired ten years before for professional careers in general, or in some specific field (such as natural science, humanities, etc.). Having become teachers, is therefore, in most cases not a deviation from their original purpose, although it is probably not regarded by them as its optimal realization. It has to be noted that teachers in higher education are included in "professions"

All this fits in very well with the low preference expressed by present-day students towards bureaucratic employment in general, and the public sector (which employs the overwhelming majority of clerical-administrative personnel) in particular. They identify these organizations with clerical-administrative careers to be chosen only as a last resort, as indeed they appear to have been treated by the graduates.

3) A point where, as it has been pointed out in the first chapter, at the first sight there seems to have been a considerable change during the ten year period is the attitude of the parents toward the occupational choice of their children. Only 2-23 per cent of the students in the different schools report that their parents try to persuade them or to force their views about occupational choice on them. In contrast 34-39 per cent of the graduates say this about their parents. The contrast, however, may be deceptive. The graduates recalling the behavior of their parents probably refer to the whole process of occupational choice most of which takes place after graduation from high school and probably after discharge from the army. It is likely that the parents try to exert their influence mainly at these latter stages. Hence the contrast between the laissez-faire attitudes of the parents reported by the students, and the parental pressure reported by the graduates may not reflect any change of behavior through time, but rather that parents tend to be tolerant only as long as the choice is not imminent. When it is imminent, however, a large minority of them seem to make forceful efforts to influence the choice of their sons.

The impression of stability of attitudes and behavior during the ten year period which separates the two groups investigated is also born out: (a) by the comparison between the relationship between fathers and children's expectations in the two groups (cf. Tables 27, 28); (b) by the comparison of the aspirations of the students with the actual attainments of the graduates (cf. table 29).

TABLE 27

Father's and Sons Occupational Expectations by Type of School
(percentages) (Students Population)

Occupations	General High Schools		Technical Schools	
	Fathers	Sons	Fathers	Sons
Professions	33	44	-	-
Engineering	21	21	53	52
Physicians	16	9	-	-
Skilled worker	-	-	26	31
All other	30	26	21	17
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 28

Father's and Sons Past * Occupational Expectations by Type
of School. (percentages) (Graduates Population)

Occupations	General High Schools		Technical Schools	
	Fathers	Sons	Fathers	Sons
Professions	19	29	**	**
Engineering	24	27	17	18
Physicians	13	13	**	**
Skilled worker	**	**	31	65
All other	44	31	52	17
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

* 10 years ago

** Very small numbers, included in "All other" category.

TABLE 29

Students Occupational Aspirations and Graduates Attainments
by Type of School (percentages)

	Technical Schools		General High Schools	
	Graduates Attainments	Students Aspirations	Graduates Attainments	Students Aspirations
Engineering	9.5	52	19. -	21
Physicians	-	-	6.5	9
Professions	1.5	6	22	44
Teaching	11	-	8	-
Administration	14	1	21.5	5
Skilled Worker	45.5	31	3. -	3
Other	17.5	10	19. -	18
Total	100	100	100	100
N	143	290	171	321

The occupation most desired by both parents and students in the technical schools is engineer, while among the graduates it used to be skilled workers. (The reasons for this change have been pointed out above, p. 46). Otherwise the patterns are similar in both cases.

Most importantly, however, the actual mobility of the graduates has been as "perfect" as the desired mobility of the students. Parental occupation has not affected the past aspirations or the actual chances of the graduates at all, as it has not affected the aspirations of the students today (cf. Tables 30, 31, 32, 33 and Tables 8, 9 on p.18/9).

4) The perceived advantages of occupations among the graduates are similar to those among students, with the exception of "prestige" which

TABLE 30
Father's Occupation and Son's Occupational Aspirations. (General High Schools, Graduate Population)

Son Father										
	Engin- eering	Physi- cians	Profes- sions	Teaching	Business	Adminis- tration	Skilled worker	Other	Total	
Engineering	28% 8	10% 3	24% 7	-	-	3% 1	3% 1	31% 9	100% 29	16%
Physicians	-	20% 1	-	-	-	20% 1	-	60% 3	100% 5	3%
Professions	14% 2	21% 3	28% 4	-	-	-	-	36% 5	100% 14	8%
Teaching	38% 3	25% 2	-	-	-	-	-	38% 3	100% 8	4%
Business	23% 7	7% 2	40% 12	-	-	3% 1	23% 1	7% 14%	100% 50	17%
Administration	22% 1	10% 5	17% 18	2% 1	-	2% 1	-	27% 13	100% 49	27%
Skilled worker	37% 11	17% 5	30% 9	3% 1	-	-	-	13% 4	100% 30	17%
Other	33% 5	13% 2	7% 1	-	-	-	-	47% 7	100% 15	8%
Total	26% 47	13% 23	28% 51	1% 2	-	1% 4	1% 2	28% 51	100% 180	100%

TABLE 31
Father's Occupation and Son's Occupational Aspirations (Technical Schools, Graduate Population)

Son Father	Engineer- ing	Physi- cians	Profes- sions	Teaching	Business	Adminis- tration	Skilled worker	Other	Total
Engineering	60% 6 21%	-	-	-	-	-	40% 4 4%	-	100% 10 7%
Physicians	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Professions		-	-	-	-	-	100% 4 4%	-	100% 4 3%
Teaching	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 1%	-	1 1%
Business	14% 4 14%	-	7% 2 100%	-	-	-	71% 20 20%	7% 2 33%	100% 28 20%
Administration	17% 6 21%	-	-	-	-	3% 1 33%	74% 26 26%	6% 2 33%	100% 35 25%
Skilled worker	16% 7 24%	5% 2 100%	-	-	-	2% 1 33%	77% 34 34%	-	100% 44 31%
Other	32% 6 21%	-	-	-	-	5% 1 33%	53% 10 10%	10% 2 33%	100% 19 14%
Total	21% 29 100%	1% 2 100%	1% 2 100%	-	-	2% 3 100%	70% 99 100%	4% 6 100%	100% 141 100%

TABLE 32
Father and Son's Occupations (General High Schools, Graduate Population)

Father \ Son	Engineering	Physicians	Professions	Teaching	Business	Administration	Skilled worker	Other	Total
Engineering	17% 4 14%	4% 1 10%	35% 8 21%	4% 1 7%	-	17% 4 11%	4% 1 17%	17% 4 15%	100% 23 14%
Physicians	-	20% 1 10%	-	20% 1 7%	-	40% 2 8%	-	20% 1 4%	100% 5 3%
Professions	21% 3 11%	7% 1 10%	29% 4 11%	7% 1 7%	-	21% 3 8%	-	14% 2 7%	100% 14 8%
Teaching	-	-	-	20% 1 7%	-	40% 2 6%	20% 1 17%	20% 1 4%	100% 5 3%
Business	13% 4 14%	3% 1 100%	23% 7 18%	7% 2 13%	17% 5 83%	27% 8 22%	-	10% 3 11%	100% 30 18%
Administration	23% 11 39%	2% 1 10%	21% 10 26%	10% 5 33%	2% 1 17%	19% 9 25%	8% 4 66%	15% 7 26%	100% 48 29%
Skilled worker	17% 4 14%	13% 3 30%	30% 7 18%	13% 3 20%	-	17% 4 11%	-	9% 2 7%	100% 23 14%
Other	12% 2 17%	12% 2 20%	12% 2 5%	6% 21 7%	-	18% 3 8%	-	41% 7 26%	100% 17 10%
Total	17% 28 100%	6% 10 100%	23% 38 100%	9% 15 100%	4% 6 100%	22% 35 100%	4% 6 100%	16% 27 100%	100% 166 100%

TABLE 33
Father and Son's Occupation (Technical Schools, Graduate population)

Father \ Son	Engineering	Physicians	Professions	Teaching	Business	Administration	Skilled worker	Other	Total
Engineering	25% 2 17%	-	-	12% 1 7%	-	-	63% 5 8%	-	100% 8 6%
Physicians	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Professions	33% 1 8%	-	-	-	-	-	66% 2 3%	-	100% 3 2%
Teaching	-	-	-	-	-	-	100% 2 3%	-	100% 2 2%
Business	14% 3 25%	-	5% 1 100%	23% 5 33%	5% 1 50%	5% 1 5%	41% 9 15%	9% 2 10%	100% 22 17%
Administration	5% 2 17%	-	-	3% 1 7%	-	29% 10 50%	43% 15 24%	20% 7 33%	100% 35 26%
Skilled worker	5% 2 17%	-	-	11% 4 27%	3% 1 50%	16% 6 30%	49% 18 29%	16% 6 29%	100% 37 28%
Other	8% 2 17%	-	-	15% 4 27%	-	12% 3 15%	42% 11 18%	23% 6 29%	100% 26 20%
Total	9% 12 100%	- 100%	1% 1 100%	11% 15 100%	2% 2 100%	15% 20 100%	47% 62 100%	16% 21 100%	100% 133 100%

is mentioned as important by twice the percentage of graduates as of the students. (cf. Table 34). This may be due to greater sensitivity to status (or slightly reduced "idealism") among the former.

TABLE 34

Perceived Advantage of Occupations by Graduates (10 years before) and Students. (Percentages)

	<u>Graduates</u>	<u>Students</u>
Interesting	80%	83%
Initiative*	62%	36%
Advancement	41%	36%
Prestige	27%	11%
High Income	22%	21%

* For Graduates the pre-coded answer was "Initiative and Creativity"; For the Students "Possibility of High Initiative".

The returns on this item are, therefore, not strictly comparable

Among graduates those stressing "interest" do not tend to mention either prestige or income as advantages, on the other hand there is a close relationship between prestige, income and advancement. (cf. Table 35). There is, however, no relationship between the two types of syndromes and the occupations of the graduates, while among the students there appears to be a slight tendency among those stressing "income" and "advancement" to prefer engineering and medicine and